/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[678] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (káka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

C 105 Pc 197 /320 cont./ what is common in the vocabulary and structure of the language goes back to Chibcha or to a linguistically different substratum. Analogously this is true of the archeological cultures of the northern Andean area, which are also similar in many aspects, but do not go back to the Chibcha culture.

P 105 172 174 There remains the question of the ethnic relationship of the archeological Tierradentro-culture. In view of their meager material and artistic cultural possessions, the Paez were technically not capable of the manifestations of an advanced culture that exist in Tierradentro. With their strictly democratic social structure, they also lack the organization by estate needed to maintain such a culture. Even in the mythological traditions of the Paez, there is no hint of any relationship with the archeological culture. The only similarity seems to be the Paez method of burial in a niche grave; typologically, however, this is not identical with the shaft grave. In addition there is the difference of the cremation burial in the archeological culture in contrast to the skeleton burial of the entire corpse among the Paez. Moreover, the Paez are a local, relatively narrowly circumscribed tribe; the archeological culture, on the other hand, has the most extensive geographical relationships in the art (*), in the style of

* G. Hernandez de Alba (IV) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 324/ found a necklace of small sodalite figures in a grave chamber. This material is otherwise not found in Colombia. It comes from a Bolivian mine, and works of art made of it are found in Tiahuanaco as well as in Peruvian and Argentinian sites.

their stone statues, and in the method of burial in shaft graves.

Artistic relationships, however, make probable more extensive linguistic relationships than is the case for the Paez and their neighbors. From this standpoint a relatively well-developed trade may also be assumed. The disposition and present activity of the Paez, however, does not give us any support in this respect either.

/320 cont./

105 We are therefore obliged to regard the presence of the Paez in
172 their present settlement areas of Tierradentro as subsequent to the
174 archeological culture. Whether, as later immigrants within a larger population movement, they were the destroyers of the archeological culture, or whether they settled on the sites of the archeological culture only in the course of their wars with the
105 Spaniards cannot be clarified at the present time. /321/ The
172 latter assumption is corroborated by the fact that the reports of
174 the early Spaniards about the tribes that they encountered and
114 about their geographical position are not always clear. For exam-
131 ple, P. Manuel Rodriquez (1684) has the Paez living in the Páramo de las Papas, the páramo west of San Agustín, in which
101 rise the Magdalena, Cauca, and Caqueta. It is also remarkable
105 that the first Spanish reports do not mention the Guambiano, the
114 present-day western neighbors of the Paez. The assumption that
172 the Paez were affiliated with a newly immigrated, war-like
174 population is corroborated by the fact that the tribe of the Andaki /Andaqui/ living in the culture area of San Agustín at the time of the Conquista also had nothing to do with the archeological culture, but may possibly be regarded as the destroyers of it.

VI. List of Foreign and Technical Terms

104

Alcalde	Colombian designation for the burgomaster of a town or head of a district. Also the designation for local native authorities.
Ají	Very pungent mixture of ají pepper with onions and other spices.
Arroba	Spanish measure of weight of 12 1/2 kilograms.
Cabildo	Colombian community council. Among the Paez the designation for the democratically chosen village council.
Chaquira	Columbian designation for glass bead.
Chicha	(pronounced tschitscha) Native beer. Made of sugar cane among the Paez, of maize among most of the other Andean Indians, usually made of manioc among the South American Forest Indians.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

[121] The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

FORMER OCCUPANTS. "PLANOS DE INDIOS." HUACAS

101 174 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said [692] they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed 181 descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes, 162] near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 114 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their [103] strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town of Jamundí, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have [135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes. 172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

only it might be necessary to modify it slightly if we were able to localize all of the thirty-four villages or hamlets reputed to be of Paez stock and included in the following systematic list:

1. *Paez Basin*

As-st	Inzá	Suin
Chinas	Láme	Tálaga
Chitoco	Moseco	Toés
Cuetandó	Nátaga	Vitoncó
El Pital	San Andrés de la Plata	Vaquirá
El Naranjal	San José	

2. *Palo Basin*

Jambaló	San Francisco	Toribío
Pitaió	Tacueyó	

3. *Orejas, Corre, and Piendama Mountains*

Cajibío	Caldonió	Paniquitá

4. *Vaguará Basin*

El Retiro		Iquirá

5. *Locality Uncertain*

Abirama	Osyó	Ricaurte
Caldera	Pueblo Nuevo	Tobóima
La Troja	Pusó	

The principal neighbors of the Paez Indians, according to the above description of their territory, were to the north — the Quimbayas on the western slope of the central cordillera, and the Pijaos on the eastern slope. To their east were the Manipos, in the Magdalena valley; the Guanacos were on both watersheds of the central cordillera southward; and westward on the plains of the Cauca valley, the Kitšua and the Jamundíes. The Kitšua were probably the most advanced in culture of all these different stocks, and the ones whose influence is more easily recognized in the customs and idiom of the Paez. Their language is also the only one which has come down to us in its integrity.

There is no positive proof of the identity of the Paez and Pijaos, and it is fair to state that there are many data pointing to the fact that originally they were merely neighbors, and allied against the Spaniards, as, for instance, in 1641, when they de-

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

stroyed the city of Caloto, then on the Magdalena river, according to Alcedo. But it is not unlikely that, later on, during their decline, the Pijaos, Paós, and perhaps several other tribes became mixed, and those whom we now call *Paez* are the survivors in blood, customs, and traditions, of all these frequently named *parcialidades* or *naciones*.

Physical Characteristics

There is no special reference by former writers respecting the physical characteristics of these Indians, probably because of the apparent uniformity in type of all the tribes of tropical South America. According to my own very fleeting observations the Paez are small, broad-shouldered, with small bony hands, and feet broadened toward the extremities. Their skin is very dark, a character common to all Indians living at great altitudes. In the case of almost every adult, both male and female, coming under my observation, I observed a fine black pubescence covering all visible parts of the body. They appear to be generally strong and healthy, and their physical endurance is not below the average. On our trip across the cordillera each adult man carried at least thirty kilograms, and many of them more than fifty, and none complained of being too heavily laden, although the trail up to nearly 4,000 meters and down again was exceedingly rough and steep, requiring at times not only much exertion but equal presence of mind.

It is well to mention, after Uricoechea, that the Paeces are naturally inclined to warfare, and invariably join one side or the other in the unceasing Colombian revolutions. In early times they raided the Spanish establishments, the destruction of Caloto on two occasions (the first time in 1641) being still held by them in vivid remembrance as glorious feats of their ancestors. I was even assured that not long ago, during the last war, they were with difficulty prevented from making an incursion on the neighboring Cauca cattle ranches.

I was quite surprised to find among the Paez Indians a character that I had noticed previously in Central America, but of which no record could be found in current literature. I refer to

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lel*), tumors of several kinds (*lel-sek*, tonsilitis; *koñ*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*buzguć*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhœa (*u-tšitš*), dysentery (*mcuguć*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-guć* in the ancient dialect, *kuć-kuć-ne* in that spoken at the present day).

Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

Clothing. Personal Adornment

At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the clothing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiñ*), that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atš*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atš-petš*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atš* they carry on their left side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

FOOD. CULTIVATED AND OTHER USEFUL PLANTS

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tšulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tšulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitšua language, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varieties. Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names used elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukš*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokatsi*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez.

The *tšulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χhiontš*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*kuáts*). *Kaš* is a gruel made of black corn; *mutši*, or *mɵtši* (the Kitšua *motc*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*hcka*).

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us hi*, red beans. The *osgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us nal*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*).

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ápe-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ápe*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

194	*epench*	is now	*pent*,	old (applied to female only).
114	*isus*	" "	*sus*,	urine.
[192]	*atamp*	" "	*taap*,	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *x* stands for *š*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *tš*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mesha*, for *mes-a*, it is not; *ishe* for *its-e*, to join, to marry, etc.

II. — WORD-FORMATION

192 114 *Remarks.* — A few preliminary remarks as to the vocabulary given hereafter are necessary. In a general way it includes only words that are not found in Castillo's work. This is true especially of all isolated terms, but exceptions have been made when one of them is or contains a root of a whole family of words, in which case a few terms have been taken from Castillo's 114 192 vocabulary and their orthography adapted to our own.

197 174 Among those words not included in Castillo's, some have simply escaped him, as, for instance, a number of plant names. But many others are to-day replaced by quite distinct expressions, and this is perhaps one of the strongest indications that the present Paez are in reality a mixture of the remnants of several ancient tribes, like the Paez, the Pijaos, the Jamundies, and probably others, which resulted after Castillo's first survey of the language. As, with the exception of the Paez, we have not even fragmentary vocabularies of the tribes thus amalgamated, it is rather difficult to sustain such an hypothesis with linguistic testimony; but traditions still current and well-known examples of similar cases in other countries can be offered in support of it.

As we have in every case given Castillo's equivalent in the vocabulary, it is needless to reproduce here a list of the differences noted.

193 114 [171] *Compound Nouns.* — The Paez language, like most of the languages belonging to the Chibchan group, has suffixes indicative of form, size, matter, people, etc., that characterize whole classes of words. Castillo's vocabulary being far from exhaustive and written in a somewhat capricious way, it is not always

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

killka, paper, letter, book	*killka*, paper, letter, book
kaftoni, to lick	*kaftoni*, to bite
kikin, again	*kikin*, again
kakka, father-in-law	*kakka*, father-in-law
laki, lax, feeble, lazy	*llaki*, feeble faint, sad
mutlai, to kiss	*mutlai*, kiss
mil, cat	*misi, mitli*, cat
miski, honey	*miski*, honey
muti, boiled corn	*muti*, boiled corn
ña, to complete, to finish	*ña*, so (Span. *ya!* ya se acabó = *ña*)
ñusa, sugar-cane, sweet cane	*ñuk-ñu*, sweet, applied to any fruit
piñu-skia; to hate, to quarrel	*piña-tsina*, to be angry
pisko, turkey	*pitku*, bird
puki, watershed	*pucyu*, watershed
pein, to ask	*pin?* who is it?
tlumbe, sash to support the *anaku*	*tlumki*, sash, girdle
tlpi-pi, turkey	*tlumpi*, brown
ukupa-ki, to push	*ukupa-tlii*, to push
uás, a hut	*huási*, house
vite-pazak, one hundred	*patlak*, one hundred

(3) *From other Languages.* — It is likely that the Paez language borrowed many other terms from neighboring tribes, but thus far we lack the necessary material for comparison. As explained above, since Castillo's residence among these Indians their language seems to have undergone considerable change, especially in its vocabulary, a fact readily explained if we admit that the present Paez are composed of the remains of several tribes, greatly reduced in number by their wars with the Spanish conquerors and the hardships they suffered after their submission to the new rule. With the Chibcha, the analogies seem reduced to the rules of construction, the vocabulary being totally distinct.

F. — *The Numerals*

1. *Jas, vitell*	*tell*
2. *Enz*	*enz*
3. *Tek*	*tek*
4. *Pans*	*pans*

7:Hernández de Alba E-5 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[1] It is also possible to trace the acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[1] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orosco, 1878; and Castelvi, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-39; Otero, 1938; Albís, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Captain Sebastián de Belalcázar was the first conquistador who went north from Quito and entered the Andean region of what is today Colombia. He passed through the territory of the Pasto and Popayán Rivers to reach the region of Neiva and beyond in 1535–36.

At the time of their discovery, the native peoples north of Ecuador were very numerous, but the chroniclers, for example Cieza de León, who crossed this region in 1545 and is its outstanding historian, gave their locations and designations in a very confused manner. The historians classified the aboriginal peoples either according to small villages or groups of houses, slight differences of dialects, or slight cultural variations, so that the true classifications are very difficult to make.

Modern ethnological studies and a critical interpretation of the chroniclers somewhat clarify the cultural panorama of these regions, however, and it is now possible to list the following tribal divisions which existed just before the Conquest [4] (map 7):

Pasto.—The *Pasto* (*Koaiker*, *Cuaiquer*, *Quayquer*, *Coaiquer*,[4] etc.) (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38), who had a uniform language and culture throughout their villages, were distributed from the town of Tuza between the Mira and San Juan Rivers northward throughout the mountains to the valley of the Patía River and toward the northeast to the southern boundary of the present Department of Cauca. Eastward, they extended to the country of the *Quillacinga*, which began at the Guáitara River (Cieza, 1880, ch. 33). In the west, they occupied the western portion of Nariño, but accurate information is lacking on some tribes, which like the *Abades*, *Masteles* (Juán López de Velasco *in* Guerra, 1942) and *Patía* of the lower Patía River, lived toward the Pacific Coast region. The Angasmayo River in *Pasto* territory was the limit of the conquest of the *Inca* Guaynacapa (Cieza, 1880, ch. 37). Ortíz locates this river southeast of Nariño but other authors identify it with the Mayo River farther to the north.

There was a large number of native groups or villages within this area. Among these Cieza mentions the *Ascual*, *Mallama*, *Túcurres*, (*Tulcan*), *Zapuys*, *Iles*, *Guaimatal*, *Funes*, *Chapal*, *Males*, *Piales*, *Pupiales*, *Turca*, some of which are south of the Colombia-Ecuador border, *Cumba*, and others, and adds that, "All these peoples and chiefs had and have the name of *Pastos*" (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). Guerra gives other names of small groups (parcialidades).

Quillacinga.—East and southeast of the *Pasto* lived the *Quillacinga*. Padre Velasco (1841–44, vol. 3) identified them with the *Pasto*, but cultural and linguistic differences between these tribes leave no doubt that Cieza de León (1880, ch. 33), was correct in considering them a

[4] Castelví, 1934; Guerra, 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1940–41; Ortíz, 1937 d, 1938 c; and Otero, 1938, 1939.
[4] The *Coaiquer* are sometimes treated as a subgroup of the *Pasto*. (See this volume, pp. 927–936, 937–938.)

/183 cont./

557 say, the surname, is transmitted through the paternal line. The
582 wife retains it throughout her life, but does not transmit it to her children. A son of hers will bear only the father's surname.
604 According to an /184/ informant from Calderas a man respects his paternal uncles and aunts in the same manner as the maternal uncles, but not the maternal aunt, because "she is not a real relative;...she is a woman and not a man ... the men (older) have to be respected the same as the old women" and, generalizing, adds: "of the uncles and aunts one respects the men more than the women and the paternal uncles more than
601 the maternal ones." Although the terms for designating the
604 uncles and aunts of EGO differentiate sex and specify the line to which they belong, EGO considers the relationship of the paternal uncles and aunts to be closer than that of the maternal ones, and although the uncles call the sons of their brothers "sons," there does not exist among the present-day Páez a clear concept of parallel uncles and cross uncles and, consequently, of parallel and cross cousins. Masculine EGO calls paternal and maternal male cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal female cousins pesh, making them equal with his own sisters and brothers, and feminine EGO calls paternal and maternal female cousins Iakté, paternal and maternal male cousins Jish, making
601 them equal also with her own brothers and sisters. But logically
604 such a distinction must have existed, to judge from the conduct
582 observed in the selection of mates and in the respect that EGO pays to his uncles and aunts, this being more pronounced for the paternal than for the maternal ones and greater still for the men.
114 Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco corroborates our argument. In
60 his Vocabulario he states that the mother-in-law is called by the
582 same term as the one designating the father's sister (pezoz), and the father-in-law by the same term as the one for designating the mother's brother (cacca). This means that in the eighteenth century in-law kinship specified the origin of the spouses, clearly showing marriage between cross cousins.

60 All these traits make us think that possibly there were
614 patrilineal exogamous clans, now manifested by some types of
●174 stereotyped conduct,